

Message Text

SECRET

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ORIGIN EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 PM-09 NSC-10 SS-15 RSC-01 CIAE-00

COME-00 EB-11 INR-10 LAB-06 NSAE-00 SIL-01 DODE-00

AGR-20 TRSE-00 OMB-01 L-03 IO-12 M-03 SIG-02 CU-04

AID-20 IGA-02 PC-15 OPIC-12 H-02 SAJ-01 STR-08 XMB-07

SCI-06 NSF-04 /200 R

66644 DR

DRAFTED BY EA/ ROC: JWMOYLE/ MEMCDONNELL/ HEHOROWITZ/ LJMOSE

4/13/73 EXT 22209

APPROVED BY EA: RSNEIDER

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EA/ PRCM - MR. SULLIVAN

NSC - MR. FROEBE

DOD/ JCS (INFO) OMB (INFO)

CIA (INFO) USIA (INFO)

COMMERCE (INFO) DOD/ ISA (INFO)

LABOR (INFO)

AGRICULTURE (INFO)

TREASURY (INFO)

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI PRIORITY

INFO USIA

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S E C R E T STATE 070196

E. O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TW, CH

SUBJECT: FY 1974 ROC PARA

REF: STATE A-11748 OF 12/4/72

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1. IN ACCORDANCE WITH GUIDELINES CONTAINED REPAIR, DEPARTMENT IN COORDINATION WITH EA/ IG HAS PREPARED DRAFT SECTION I OF FY 1974 PARA GIVEN BELOW. THIS DRAFT OF SECTION I HAS BEEN CLEARED WITH NSC STAFF. SUGGESTIONS BY SOME OTHER EA/ IG PARTICIPANTS ON BASIS OF EARLIER DRAFT HAVE BEEN INCORPORATED TO EXTENT THAT THESE COULD BE RECONCILED. SECTION I AND SECTION II (PLUS ANNEXES) WILL BE FORMALLY CLEARED WITH EA/ IG AFTER EMBASSY HAS SUBMITTED SECTION II (PLUS ANNEXES) AND ANY COMMENTS OR SUGGESTED CHANGES IT MAY HAVE ON SECTION I.

2. EMBASSY SHOULD NOW PREPARE AND SUBMIT SECTION II AND ANNEXES I AND II. IN ORGANIZING SECTION II NARRATIVE, POLICIES LISTED IN DRAFT SECTION I SHOULD BE YOUR START-ING POINT, IN SAME WAY THAT LAST YETORTED THAT I KNEW THESE REPORTS WERE GROSSLY EXAGGERATED. " BUT WHY SHOULDN' T SOMALIA HAVE MIG 21' S AND THUS SOME PARITY WITH THREATENING ETHIOPIAN AIR FORCE?" FACT WAS, HE SAID, SOVIETS WOULD NOT GIVE SOMALIA ALL THE MILITARY MATERIEL SHE WANTED; " AND THEY ARE RIGHT." I INTERJECTED THAT ETHIOPIAN SITUATION WAS NOT DISSIMILAR. IN ANY CASE, PRESIDENT SAID, HE WAS WILLING TURN BACK ALL HARDWARE TO SOVIET UNION IF ETHIOPIA WILL RETURN ITS EQUIPMENT TO US.

5. " I GIVE YOU MY SOLEMN WORD OF HONOR," SIAD SAID, " AND YOU CAN CONVEY IT TO PRESIDENT NIXON THAT I DO NOT WANT HOSTILITIES." THE SOMALI GOVERNMENT' S NUMBER ONE PRIORITY WAS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, AND ALL THEIR ENERGIES WERE DIRECTED TOWARD THIS GOAL. ADMITTEDLY, THERE WAS PROBLEM WITH ETHIOPIA AND HE HAD HOPED THAT WITH WISDOM AND PATIENCE HE, TOGETHER WITH EMPEROR, COULD REACH COMPROMISE SOLUTION. SOME DAY IT WOULD BE SOLVED, BUT IT WOULD PROBABLY TAKE TIME. PRESIDENT THOUGH THAT SOMALIA' S CONTINUING EFFORTS ON UGANDA- TANZANIA DISPUTE SHOULD BE CONVINCING EVIDENCE OF HOW SOMALIA BELIEVED AFRICAN DISPUTES SHOULD BE SETTLED.

6. IT WAS INCONCEIVABLE, SIAD SAID, THAT SOMALIA, WITH ITS LIMITED RESOURCES AND MILITARY STRENGTH, WOULD WISH TO TAKE ON ETHIOPIA. THE LOGISTICAL PROBLEMS ALONE WERE INSURMOUNTABLE. MOREOVER, THE US WAS FAR MORE GENEROUS TO ETHIOPIAN THAN THE SOVIET UNION WAS TO SOMALIA.

7. HE HAD LEANED OVERBACKWARDIN OVERLOOKING ETHIOPIAN INCURSIONS, RECONNAISSANCE FLIGHTS, ETC. HIS TROOPS HAD EVEN KILLED THREE SOMALI GUERRILLAS ARMED AND PAID BY ARABS TO INFILTRATE OGADEN. HE HAD JAILED A GREAT MANY MORE. THIS MODERATION HAD NOT BEEN RECIPROCATED. WHETHER OR NOT IT WAS DUE TO BAD ADVICE, OLD AGE, OR DIMINISHING AUTHORITY, EMPEROR, FOR WHOM HE STILL HAD GREAT RESPECT, HAD REJECTED SIAD' S BID FOR DIALOGUE AND HAD APPARENTLY APPROVED A HIGHLY PROVOCATIVE POLICY. IF ETHIOPIANS ATTACKED, THEY WOULD FIND,

AS IN 1964, THAT THE SOMALI SOLDIER WAS FARMORE PREPARED TO
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DIE TO DEFEND HIS HOMELAND THAN GALLA SOLDIER WAS TO CON-
QUER SOMALIA.

8. SIAD THEN MADE VERY STRONG PLEA FOR US ASSISTANCE IN DE-
ESCALATING CURRENT CONFRONTATION. AS A MINIMUM, US SHOULD
URGE ETHIOPIANS TO WITHDRAW FORCES WELL BEHIND PRESENT BORDERS
INORDER TO REDUCE DANGER OF INCIDENTS THAT MIGHT GET OUT
OF CONTROL.

9. I TOLD HIME I WOULD CONVEY HIS REQUEST TO MY GOVERNMENT.
I STATED THAT ACCORDING TO OUR ASSESSMENT, ETHIOPIAN TROOP
DISPOSITIONS WERE DEFENSIVE. CONTRARY TO CURRENT ALLEGATIONS,
US WAS NOT EGGING EHTIOPIAN ON BUT RATHER TRYING TO CALM HER.
WE WOULD NEVER GO ALONG WITH ANY PREVENTIVE ATTACK ON SOMALIA.
IN FACT, NEITHER THE EXECUTIVE NOR THE CONGRESS WAS PARTICULARLY
ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO UNDERDEVELOPED
COUNTRIES OF AFRICA.

10. I ASKED SIAD IF HE WERE GOING TO ADDIS FOR OAU MAY SUMMIT.
HE EXPRESSED DOUBTS IF PRESENT TENSIONS CONTINUED. I SAID
THAT WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO DO SOMETHING TO HELP DIFFUSE PRESENT
TENSIONS. IF SO, OUR ROLE WOULD BE LIMITED, AND I FELT IT
WAS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL THAT HE GO TO ADDIS IN ORDER TO
RESUME DIALOGUE WITH EMPEROR AND GET THINGS BACK ON THE
TRACKS.

11. COMMENT: WE ARE DEALING WITH TWO VERY DEVIOUS AND
DIFFICULT GOVERNMENTS, WITH A LONG HISTORY OF MUTUAL DISTRUST
AND RECRIMINATIONS. AS LONG AS SOMALIA PERSISTS IN ITS
IRREDENTIST ASPIRATIONS, BACKED UP BY SOVIET ARMS, ETHIOPIA
ISBOUND TO REACT SKITTISHLY. NEVERTHELESS, WHILE PRESIDENT
SIAD MAY NOT HAVE BEEN QUITE AS FRANK WITH ME AS HE MADE OUT,
I TEND TO BELIEVE HIS PEACEFUL INTENTIONS AT THIS TIME. I
ACCORDINGLY RECOMMEND THAT THIS BE CONVEYED TO IEG AND THAT
ETHIOPIANS BE ENCOURAGED TO RESUME DIALOGUE WITH SOMALIS.
(IT IS POSSIBLE, AMBASSADOR AYALEW TELLS ME, THAT ETHIOPIA
FONMIN MINASSIE MAY COME HERE SHORTLY FOR BRIEF VISIT.)
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

*** Current Classification *** SECRET

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts:
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 14 APR 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973STATE070196
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: JWMOYLE/ MEMCDONNELL/ HEHOROWITZ/ LJMOSER
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: SECSTATE WASHDC
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730442/aaaaioie.tel
Line Count: 166
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ORIGIN EA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 73 STATE A-11748 OF 12/4/72
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags: ANOMALY
Review Date: 30 JAN 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <30-Jan-2002 by collinp0>; APPROVED <22 FEB 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> srp 980115
Subject: FY 1974 ROC PARA
TAGS: PFOR, CH, TW
To: AIT TAIPEI INFO CINCPAC
USIA
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005